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**INTERVIEWEE:** CLIFF HOOPER

**INTERVIEWERS:** WILLIAM LITTLE

**SUBJECTS:** KEVE BRAY; TYREE SCOTT; AFRO AMERICAN JOURNAL; RACISM;  
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[00:00:00] CLIFF HOOPER

...As it was in the beginning. Because, in this area, for example, there's no doubt that the labor movement, the white labor movement, so far as Blacks were concerned, was sacrosanct. It was not contested primarily because it represented the only political affiliation of Black people who were organized politically in this area, which of course is Sam Smith, that the labor movement contributed very heavily into getting Sam Smith into office. In fact, so much so that I feel that there was very little that Sam would do contrary to labor interests because Sam needed that kind of support to begin his political career. They endorsed him, and as such this ostensibly was to have the Black community to feel some obligation. It was not until 1966 that the question was raised as to the real role, the true role of organized labor with respect to Black people.

What happened in 1966 was that Keve Bray had run a campaign in '65 in which he had been defeated. He ran against a white candidate, Sprague, who was also endorsed by labor. Labor is very powerful in this state as a political entity. This brought about the second meeting of Keith Bray and myself. I met Bray in '53 or '54. We had no contact until '65. That was the year I went back east. Bray asked me if I would be back in time to lend some support to his candidacy for the 37th District Representative. I told him I think I would, but good luck to him. When I came back, it was not with Bray in mind, because I had had over the years nothing but bad relations with the unions, dating back to either 1939 or 1940, when Seattle organized and came into the Black community recruiting. They were recruiting them back east as auxiliaries, Negro unions. This had significance to me because when I came out of the service the only thing I could immediately engage in in which I could make a living was the building trades. Almost immediately I came to recognize that these people were maintaining essentially the same posture that came out of the late 19th century when they formed the unions in the first place. That whites would not work with Blacks in unions, and therefore whatever relationship they had would have to be separate. When I came back after World War II, my first contact with the building trades was in attempting to remodel some property I bought. Right away, I learned that they would not deliver to a Black, or what they called a "scab." As a matter of fact, they knew from their policies that there was no such thing as a Black building company that was legitimate to unions, so they would not deliver my jobs. When I came up here, in this area, in 1947, immediately I found the same thing. It didn't matter, although I hired all union men, at that time white union men, and this didn't make a damn bit of difference. One company that's still a very large company in this town right now, they informed me that unless they handled all contacts regarding wiring on my job, they would close me down because I was a scab contractor. This was during the years of '48, '49 and 1950. Well, in 1950, a showdown really came when I did a residence on Mercer Island. I had union plumbers, union electricians, subcontractors, and they wrote a subcontract with me, which they did not fulfill, and actually were cooperating with the owners to try and sue me for failure to perform the contract. They sabotaged the job. This is of course, in terms of what my attitude became, because in the attempt to make a living as a building contractor, what was posed for me was an impossibility for a Black man making a living in this area no matter what he did, whether he hired all union crews or not, and a number of whites who worked for me were punished by various means.

The last lead man that I had, who formerly had a company of his own in Idaho, a fellow named Rich, they tried to get him to give testimony against me as— Doing all those things that lawyers get people to say that he put in inferior materials, he was haphazard about his work. Well, Rich wouldn't do this. The result of it, however, was that I had a time clause in the contract, and they used this as a means of— Well, I think I lost about \$1800 in outside costs, plus all of my time which amounted to over \$3000 on that building. On the advice of an attorney who talked to all those people who were trying to get involved in a litigation against me, he told me point blank, he says, "Hooper, get out of it. Get your case, and go to work as an individual because they will break you. They have no intention of a Black man making it as a contractor in this area. I'm telling you this because some people that I have thought were honest, sincere brothers in my lodge, some of the language that I've heard them use about Black people convinced me that no Black man is going to make it as a contractor in this area." So anyway, this is when I changed my operation, trying to be a company, and I started working as a jobber. That is, that I worked on strictly a very tight, week-to-week operation.

In that period of time, I saw a number of young companies, white, come into operation: Bell Rake Developments, Albert Balch, Bell and Valdez. But there was nothing that I could expect or do to develop an operation, so I acquired probably what would be best defined as a very well-defined hostility to this area. Of course, what I saw was that no way were Black people going to make it in one of the principal industries operating in this area, or operating in this country for that matter. So by '65, I was fully ready to write some well-defined concepts, having seen the full extent of this industry. Here was one of the real areas of deprivation

based upon an industry that had almost a total exclusion of Blacks from either entering or participating. The only options that I was ever offered in all these years was that I could become a pensioner at night for one of the major contractors, which was saying, again, that I could not work on any normal or natural means of earning a living in the building trades. So when Bray came to me about his political campaign looking for issues that we should address ourselves to, it was then that I put together all that I knew about from back in 1939 when I was told that the only—I would have to wait until an auxiliary was put together in order to participate in the building trades industry.

So far as I was concerned, there was no doubt in my mind that unions were racist. I began to put out a publication, the *News Forum*, in which I leveled a full attack on labor unions. I was visited by Blacks who felt that I was going a little overboard, that I was hitting this thing head on. Some of them now, at least one of them that I know, is in the building, the city building department, unless he's retired, but he was one of the people that came to me and said that he felt that I was— instead of saying “Unions are racist,” I should say, “Are unions racist?” I told him, “No.” I said I had had no experience that would suggest to me that I should ask the question because, from my point of view, unions are racist.

[00:13:21] WILLIAM LITTLE

What newspaper was this?

[00:13:23] CLIFF

The *News Forum*. As a matter of fact, it was a forerunner to the *Afro American Journal*. As a matter of fact, the day that the *Afro American Journal* started publishing, the *News Forum* ceased to publish. We published for 12 months, and our main approach to this whole thing had to do with the labor unions problems, the employment problems in general, and trying to inform the public what the— As a matter of fact, during our publication, we had one white union man who had been in the union for 30 years, who wrote a letter stating that everything he had read in the *News Forum* was what he had known for most or all of his 30 years in the union. So a number of small newspapers, most notably these community newspapers which were very active at that time, this was in the mid '60's, from '65, '66, '67, picked up this material. And in fact, Lloyd Cooney of Channel 7, wrote me a letter after reading some of the material that was published in the—I forget the names of these newspapers. The *Auroras*, something or other, but there are several newspapers that are put out by this company. They have a very large circulation. But anyway, when Bray ran the second time against Sprague, the material that was used came from the formulation that I had made as a key part of his campaign against Sprague the last time that Bray ran when he was defeated. It was then that the Voter's League wrote into— It was formalized, it was put together, the Negro Voter's League. It was with this group that labor became one of its basic campaign issues to carry to the community with the idea of trying to deal with labor, principally related to the fact that even entry levels into craft labor was controlled by the unions in a state-regulated industry. That is to say, the state sets up the criterion for the quality of building. The unions controlled who will enter. So we focused on those two areas.

The Voter's League then began to attempt the organization of a strong Black protest movement based upon the labor movement, or the exclusion of Blacks from the labor movement. Now this was based on tabulating what is the composition of the building trade union with respect to a fixed number of people statewide. We took a canvas. On the basis of that canvas, what we found was that the number of unemployed males between the ages of 19 and 30, unemployed in the Black community were equal to those who would have been employed had the industry been equalized. In other words, we took, for example, the figures that the Urban League had for the population at that time. On that basis, if there had been a comparable employment of Blacks to— (*telephone*

rings). So anyway, we also related this to that group of National Business League, or whatever it was, headed by Ferguson from Rainier Beer, that we knew that if the same composition, as an economic factor, were present in the Black community that we would not have the unemployment that we have. The numbers came out almost identical. That is to say, that for every— Let's take a unit of 40,000 people. For every 40,000 people in this state, there are two major building companies supporting 15 each subcontractors. That's electricians, roofers, all of the subcontracting units that support major contractors: masonry people, cement finishers, et cetera. If we had had those two units, two major contractors with each having 15 subcontractors supporting their operation, that these people would have employed roughly 2,000 or the equivalent of the unemployed that we had in the Central Area at that time.

Once we had determined this, then of course we got involved in what kind of politics would affect or influence this kind of change or bring about this kind of development. So the obvious one was the one which we chose, which was agitation or to accelerate agitation to try to educate the Black community itself to what this deprivation was about recognizing that some of the most powerful people in this state, who influenced elections, were themselves union bosses. Joe Davis, statewide, who was head of the State Labor Council, and Jim Bender, who was head of the King County Labor Council, and they placed their people in strategic positions all over the state. As a matter of fact, at SCC [Seattle Central College] they had Sullivan on one of the trustees of that school in which no Black could enter that school in the construction industry unless they were sponsored by a white journeyman. This of course was almost impossible you see. Journeymen is defined also by the unions themselves. Any Black that had been practicing as I had, building for over 25 years, this did not make me a journeyman in the sense that the unions define journeymen because a journeymen requires that you have certification with the union. So the problem then was to affect and enter into the labor union in the area of building crafts. The first move was to try and get public support.

The public support we had came largely from Bishop Connelly, who was then the Archbishop of the Diocese. He came out very strongly in support of that position. He attempted to get Davis and Bender into this concern. Of course people with that kind of power can even ignore an Archbishop. Because they did not cooperate, our next move was to step up the agitation. This is what, in effect, brought about the Carmichael Rally. It was based on this more than any other factor. That if we couldn't get them to listen to us on the local scene, that here's a man who is talking about essentially what we know to be the action factor, and that is power. Because the agitation had been brought against an unlistening, an unseeing, and an unhearing public. So here's the bringing a bout of sensationalism. So this is how Carmichael comes on the scene. Not that we did not have other problems.

In terms of the main thrust, what brought this about, was the labor question. In terms of what it relates to in terms of the total society, is that building supports a very high percentage of the families in this country: 14,000,000 men. When you take that in terms of what 14,000,000 men at high earnings, it represents a very large percentage of American families in this country because almost each one of those men you are talking about are head of a family. It is this factor that had been very thoroughly understood that brought us to the point of bringing about something that would create a serious upheaval. Well, Carmichael filled the bill perfectly. When he came in, of course, a lot of people who had no understanding of what we were doing in a small group because I think at no time did the public that we were trying to educate as to what this labor problem was, really had that much of an understanding in that short a time. Because it just doesn't happen that you educate a people in a matter of two or three years about something that involves damn near 100 years in development. Because I recall, for example, when white unions had no power, you see, because they did not have any power until the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration. They were no more recognized than we are today, as Black people.

So what followed a rally was a lot of razzle-dazzle, a lot of misunderstanding, a lot of people running off thinking they had the ball and didn't. So what we put in force was the *Afro American Journal*, which was essentially designed to agitate to the ultimate limit of our ability to arouse people to the reality of what was really happening. That if you have a major industry of this type involved with one of the critical areas of necessity, housing, which of course is what the labor unions are about, what the craft unions are about, what the building trades are about. Then we had to use that means of agitation that would break open the impossible. The only thing that I see that it did accomplish in the main was to bring about certain church groups, such as the Episcopalians who held their big convention here at which Connelly also spoke, and did condemn the unions again.

[00:27:31] WILLIAM

What year was that?

[00:27:35] CLIFF

I think that was 1968. If it was not '68, it was '69— it was before 1970.

This again came up, same question, because I think most people that have analyzed the economics of the system recognize the almost total exclusion of Blacks in the crafts unions is one of the most crippling of the industries that are functioning in this society. A number of buildings, including the Medgar Evers Pool, were in the works. We had never, except for a token, which was when John Hurst Adams got from this convention \$10,000 to start a group for the purpose of organizing Black unions, or a union that would include Black men. Now this was where the establishment, so to speak, began to respond. Now, this was in '69. They were given \$10,000 by Bishop Curtis from the Episcopalians, Walter Hundley, John Hurst Adams, and the man who used to head SOIC [Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center] before Williams. They were given \$10,000 to start a group that was called SCORE [Service Corps of Retired Executives]. This group, its purpose was to bring together combinations of people, experienced Black builders, to form companies that they would underwrite. The FHA [Federal Housing Administration] I think put up \$90,000. So they had a basic grant of \$100,000 to put together a program to provide bonding, insurance, and all of those things that had heretofore had been denied Black builders. Meanwhile, Sprague, who had been the former representative, David Sprague, had some of his colleagues in the legislature of the state, put together a bill called House Bill 742. This was designed to replace the unions, for the state to replace the unions and establishing criteria for entering trade schools that were state-supported, such as SCC and other schools. Meanwhile, the Black Cultural Center was looking at a number of public buildings, such as the Medgar Evers Pool, going up. Through the *Afro American Journal*, we were talking, these contracts that were being made with contractors that had no Black forces. So, out of this comes some pretty positive action. That is, some of the people that were empathetic with the Black Cultural Center went up and threw some people off the job, white people, and their equipment. This is what brought on what the *Afro American Journal* referred to as "the Negro revolution".

All of a sudden, as a result of the violence that occurred at the Medgar Evers Pool, there materialized suddenly a group of people from various traditional civil rights organizations, a march around the Medgar Evers Pool. Out of this very suddenly emerged the interest of the Society of Friends, with Tyree Scott and some other people, who were to lead some action against the craft unions for their discriminatory practices. I understand that in the beginning they allocated some \$93,000 for the first part of that project. The Urban League also got involved. I went to one meeting, which was supposed to be a coalition of churches, and civic organizations such as the Urban League. I remember Jerome Page was there, and Sam McKinney, Tyree Scott, and a number of other

people. I went as a representative from the *Afro American Journal*. Many of the people at the journal and the Black House were not impressed with my report. They felt, and I think in all fairness that they were right, that there really wasn't the kind of commitment. There was the sincerity of interest, but not the kind of commitment. Now Tyree Scott had come to the Black House and he said that he came to inquire as to what our concerns were and how we were intending to approach this. It came off very badly. As a matter of fact, a brother who is very prominent now in a group that is very prominent in the country was there, and it almost came to blows because I think, mainly, that there was not sufficient knowledge of the problem on Scott's part. Frankly, This is not a criticism. This is simply to say that the young man at that time had little experience that would equip him to deal with where we are at this point in time.

I think that from the fact that the AME [African Methodist Episcopal] Church brought Herbert Hill here from the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] because of this agitation. They brought him here in early '69, I think in April of '69, to show that the unions had always been racist, which of course anyone with an awareness of history knows that there was no part of the white labor movement that succeeded in including Black people as an integral part of their operation. In fact, the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations] were the greatest of the compromisers when unions said they did not want Blacks in it. This of course started in the late 19th century. So the only thing that Hill did when he came here was to try to broaden the information with Black people who were not in the main aware of labor unions and the labor movement's relationship to the reality of economics in this society. Also, CORE [Congress of Racial Equality] had sent their Associate Director out here, National CORE, Lincoln Lynch, and Lynch was questioned that night by me about, was the reason that NAACP and CORE and similar organizations did not attack the racist policies of the craft unions based upon the fact that these unions do contribute very heavily to the civil rights organizations? He responded affirmatively, that he thought that this was one of the reasons that they—Because there's never been a national program on the part of the NAACP attacking racism in unions, which is one of the major areas affecting employment and poverty of Black people in this country. So when the group that Tyree Scott headed came up, primarily the Black House saw it as a sell-out. That this would be a way to sort of salve the wounds of Black people on this issue that had been raised. In terms of what its meaning has been, and what it has become, it has amounted to little more than that. It was forced into the courts, ultimately, where it could only be strung out in extensive litigation and delay. This is exactly what it has accomplished. They needed a public demonstration of a group that it could legitimize, the Quakers, in the case of that group that did support the United Construction Workers. What was brought about was the diffusing of the agitation and then everything was to return to normal, which it has. Which means, actually, that the unions are as racist as they ever have been.

There's been a token involvement. I know that Martin, for example, who has been a Black contractor for many years, operating on a shoestring, has left the industry. Skip Ware, who had been in the business for many years, is teaching over— But most of these people, including myself, left the industry. Those of us who were most able to bring young into this industry, who'd had the experience, were simply cut out of it. So what we have is those who have really in no way earned a living over a significant period of years to really know what the unions are about or what the labor movement is about. So that, I think, is pretty much what I see today is that when I think of '66, and the time that this battle was open, and I look at '75, then I see nothing has been accomplished, absolutely nothing. Unions still control the entry level of a state-regulated industry by determining who and how they get in. That has not changed. There is not one major Black construction company, although there is building still going on in the Black community extensively. Black unemployment is higher today than it was in 1966. Training for Blacks is still on a token basis, and largely in the areas where their likelihood of their ending up in the building trades itself is very insignificant. On the basis of population growth, and Blacks in the trades

themselves, it is very minimal, to a point where I would say it's insignificant. In other words, I think all the lines held, despite all of the action that took place.

[00:41:24] CLIFF

Those men understood the problem. They certainly did not understand the labor problem because they always found themselves in the company of labor people—

[00:41:37] WILLIAM

And labor money.

[00:41:38] CLIFF

That's right.

So even the SOIC— See, Bray and I were given a copy of this thing before it was established by Reverend [? Bolster ?]. This was before McKinney and the others got a hold of it. We were asked if we would function with this program. When I read the perspectives and saw what the AFL-CIO, who had mutters in the original proposal, I said, "Well, these bastards are doing it again." What they were declaring is that they would support it on the assumption that the training involvement would not be in conflict with the union. So in other words, they had their guarantee before they would support the OIC [Opportunities Industrialization Center] program. So when I looked at the damn thing, I said, "This is the same damn thing all over again." Bray and I decided, of course, we would have nothing to do with it. So this of course put another one of those institution things that was to stop because almost every act that I can identify, including the epiphany money use, was to head off conflict between the Black community and the union movement. Because, in terms of the politics of the churches and traditional civil rights movement and organizations, they felt that they needed labor more than they needed a confrontation. As a matter of fact, they in fact refused the Black community by cooperating with the unions in diffusing the movement.

[00:43:44] WILLIAM

Explain that.

[00:43:45] CLIFF

Well, all politicians, Black politicians, churches, civil rights organizations, relied very heavily on contributions from AFL-CIO money. This meant Sam Smith's—This meant all of the old line Democratic politicians, including Uhlman, including all of the so-called friends of the Negro. Their support, including the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union], were very much influenced, by not antagonizing labor. As a matter of fact, I think there's nothing that shows this more clearly than the fact that they were able to thumb their noses at Connelly, who himself has tremendous support from a very large Catholic group in this state, but they, in effect, ignored him, refused to meet with him on any issue, and he attacked them when he was accorded a very, very special role of addressing the convocation of the National Episcopalian Convention here. The thing was very much involved with the power of organized labor in the state of Washington.

[00:45:32] WILLIAM

Ok. Let's get back to one other part I 'm still confused about. I understand the motivations now, but I didn't understand how.

Earl was functioning in what kind of way?

[00:45:46] CLIFF

He was a member of the Black House.

[00:45:47] WILLIAM

The Black House and the United Black Front?

[00:45:50] CLIFF

No. That's right. Well, they were one and the same. Mills was the director of the United Black Front and also an elder of the Black Cultural Center.

[00:46:03] WILLIAM

So Earl was planning on taking over the organization. Totally taking over the whole movement, the United Construction Workers?

[00:46:08] CLIFF

No. The United Black Construction Workers did not exist until after—

[00:46:16] WILLIAM

I'm talking about after, when they did exist—

[00:46:20] CLIFF

No, I don't think there was any plan for taking over, it was simply that it was deemed as an usurpation—

[00:46:27] WILLIAM

What?

[00:46:28] CLIFF

Usurpation. They were forcing the Black House and the Black United Front out of the labor picture. Not the other way around. You see the Black House and the Black United Front existed before they had even any idea they would exist.

[00:46:56] WILLIAM

Before they emerged.

[00:46:57] CLIFF

Yes.

[00:46:58] WILLIAM

Once they emerged, then they the—

[00:47:01] CLIFF

As a matter of fact, Tyree Scott came to the Black House to find out if we could work together. This is what he came to the Black House for.

[00:47:10] WILLIAM

After he had emerged—

[00:47:12] CLIFF

After he evidently had word that he was going to be funded by—

[00:47:21] WILLIAM

Model Cities fund?

[00:47:22] CLIFF

That's right, and Urban League because Urban League was also involved in that.

[00:47:26] WILLIAM

They was involved, but I don't think they was involved in a funding capacity. They was involved in—

[00:47:29] CLIFF

I think they were involved as a responsible organization, but from our point of view, it was still part of the same damn thing that a number of groups were organized to diffuse because there's no question that what was coming out of the Black House was a head-on assault on white unions functioning in the Black community. This is what Earl represented. This all he represented.

[00:48:04] WILLIAM

What he essentially was doing was trying to gain the place that they had already in the community.

[00:48:13] CLIFF

You mean the Black House? We were trying to keep it from being frustrated or intercepted by another organization. Yes. Of course when the big parade came after these actions led by McKinney, MacAdoo, Tyree Scott, and others, the last thing that happened in that regard was two issues of the *Afro American Journal* attacking the Negro Revolution and defining what it was doing.

[00:48:56] WILLIAM

That was probably in May of '69?

[00:48:58] CLIFF

Just about, yes, and this is when the attack on McKinney occurred simultaneously—

[00:48:13] WILLIAM

Because McKinney was aligning himself up with Tyree Scott.

[00:49:16] CLIFF

He aligned himself with Tyree Scott. As a matter of fact the very following week after the whites were forced off their jobs by the Black House, McKinney and these other people held a march around the pool. We've got photographs of that.

[00:49:39] WILLIAM

What you're suggesting is that Tyree Scott's organization didn't shut down the pool at the beginning? It was the Black House?

[00:49:45] CLIFF

No. It was no question. They did not. No, sir. They were no way involved in that.

[00:49:55] WILLIAM

In the initial shutdown of Garfield Pool?

[00:49:58] CLIFF

No. As a matter of fact, what their action amounted to was a counteraction. They were the ones that brought, if you want to call it that, peace. Because this is where the real bad feeling between the Black House, the United Black Construction Workers, Mount Zion Church occurred.

[00:50:32] WILLIAM

No. CCC [Central Community Church]. The CCA [Central Contractors Association], the United Construction Workers weren't in existence then.

[00:50:31] CLIFF

That's right. As a matter of fact, they took over. They muscled in with the use of the so-called traditional civil rights groups—

[00:50:49] WILLIAM

Established community uprising leaders?

[00:50:50] CLIFF

That's right. That's when they affected pushing us off the scene.  
But all of the action related to closing it down came from the Black House.

[00:51:08] WILLIAM

The initial action?

[00:51:09] CLIFF

That's right. Yes. Because from that point on, primarily because McKinney led that after-action, the *Afro American Journal* and, of course, Bray had sort of went all out to destroy McKinney as a result of that. This is when my own problem occurred with the Black House. Because having first given Bray an understanding of this labor movement back in '65, that I felt that we should—I told him, in these words, “Take another look,” because I did go to the meeting. Michael Ross was there, Page, McKinney, Scott, Little—

[00:52:27] WILLIAM

Ernie (chuckles).

[00:52:09] CLIFF

Not the one who has that thing down on Jackson, but his brother, John, the one who is now working for, and his sidekick, they were both working for Battelle at the time. Charles Huey. All these people were there, and we met at the Finnish Center on 17th. I thought that these were sincere Black men who were trying to feel their way to— Michael Ross was there— to feel their way to some positive kind of thing. When I went back to the Black House as a journeyman, those people went out of their minds.

[00:53:24] WILLIAM

(laughs)  
And what pursued was a violent attack on McKinney—

[00:53:31] CLIFF

They went out of their minds. As a matter of fact, I think that concern for my life was very high at that time.

[00:53:39] WILLIAM

From them?

[00:53:40] CLIFF

Yeah.

[00:53:41] WILLIAM

So it was very violent at the time?

[00:53:42] CLIFF

Well, I can understand it. They'd put out a lot. They had laid their lives on the line for this thing, and then to see it snatched it away by people who had not been even close. I think it was for most of them a pretty damn bitter

pill. Because there's no question that at that time we had people who were coming to terms with the problem, and these people we'd never heard of. We'd never heard of Tyree Scott, you know, or certainly we knew no Page having anything to do with no building in all these years, or Sam McKinney. These people, Michael Ross, we didn't know what the hell they were doing. All of a sudden, we'd been fighting on the battlefield that they had stood aloof from, and then all of a sudden, because this was in fact the headline grabber, the emphasis had shifted from the schools and then centered on labor. You had the Benders, and Davises, what is this dude, this racist union man with a French name?

[00:55:20] WILLIAM

Austin St. Laurent.

[00:55:24] CLIFF

That's right. That son of a bitch. We'd been up to conferences up to the state to try to deal with this thing—

[00:55:35] WILLIAM

Who you met with at the state?

[00:55:38] CLIFF

Oh, let's see. Sam Smith was there, and the white who you don't hear anymore from at all, he was legislative representative from this district for a long time, and frankly I think had more positive development in this area than Sam Smith. David Sprague. But we met with a Senate committee on 742, and the union people were there. They had their apprentice training people, and these crackers talked about us like dogs up there. We didn't learn, or we didn't come on time, or we—the kind of shit we used to listen to [? Rankin and Bilbo ?]. They did everything but call us niggers up there. Joe Brazil was there. Matter of fact Joe and I sat side by side on that damn thing. As a matter of fact, they tried to cancel my coming up there after they found out who I was, and I went anyway because I had the invitation. I wanted to see it all the way through, because I know you're not going to take anything in this area. This is the kind of thing in which unless you can force a law, and of course I

feel that one important step will be for the state, that is their building authority— Because I think it's unconstitutional if it ever could be contested that a non-government agency determines the entry into a government-regulated industry. But this damn it, is what is happening, is happening right now. Those bastards determine who enters into a way of making a living—

[00:58:11] WILLIAM

So does the lawyers, so do the doctors, so—

[00:58:19] CLIFF

You're not going to be denied the right to [inaudible] \_\_\_\_\_ unless you fail to pass a state examination. Here, you're not going to even get in unless you have a white journeyman.

[00:58:43] WILLIAM

Yeah that's unconstitutional.

[00:58:46] CLIFF

That is a critical difference.

[00:58:47] WILLIAM

But the court has found that's illegal—

[00:58:52] CLIFF

No, they haven't. That is still the rule. You do not enter into schools in this state unless you have sponsorship by a journeymen—

[00:59:06] WILLIAM

No, not any more. Not any more, not Blacks. There's a series of cases. The Justice Department brought a suit against electrician union, the plumbers, the sheet metal, iron workers—

[00:59:23] CLIFF

The sheet metal were the ones—

[00:59:24] WILLIAM

The iron workers, and since they brought that case that Blacks have to be brought into the program, regardless of anybody else—

[00:59:35] CLIFF

This is not part of the entry. I 'm going to check it tomorrow.

They used to even write it in the catalogues, that you had to have a journeymen sponsor—

[00:59:55] WILLIAM

That's not the case anymore, I don't think. I think he threw it out, the existing policy, and reconstituted some new criteria. I will get that for you, I've got most of the court orders in my office.